

Message Text

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CB

SUBJECT: JAPANESE VIEWS ON KHMER SOLUTION

1. SUMMARY. HANABUSA, DIRECTOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN AFFAIRS IN JAPANESE FONMIN, OUTLINED TO EMBOFF PLAN FOR ASEAN NATIONS AND JAPAN, FRESH FROM UN VICTORY ON KHMER RESOLUTION, TO PROMOTE NEGOTIATIONS BY DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WITH NONALIGNED NATIONS LEADING TO GREATER PRESSURE ON PEKING, KC AND HANOI. HE IS IN PROCESS OF VISITING SOME ASEAN CAPITALS TO DISCUSS COORDINATION. END SUMMARY.

2. MASAMICHI HANABUSA, DIRECTOR OF FIRST SOUTHEAST ASIAN SECTION OF JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTRY, VISITED PHNOM PENH DECEMBER 7-10 FOLLOWING ESF MEETING IN MANILA AND A STOP IN BANGKOK. HE MET WITH POL/MIL COUNSELOR DEC. 9, AND PRESENTED WHAT HE OFFERED AS PERSONAL VIEWS, NOT PREVIOUSLY DISCUSSED WITH ANY AMERICAN OFFICIAL.

3. HE WAS NOT SURPRISED BY CURRENT CHINESE RELUCTANCE TO PLAY ANY MEDIATORY ROLE IN KHMER SOLUTION. WHAT WAS NEEDED NOW WAS VERY ACTIVE EFFORT BY ASIANS (ASEAN POWER, PLUS JAPAN AND PERHAPS AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND). SIGNIFICANCE OF UNGA RESOLUTION WAS THAT IT SHIFTED FOCUS AWAY FROM STERILE REPRESENTATION

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QUESTION TOWARD EMPHASIS ON NEGOTIATIONS. THIS LINE

MUST BE REINFORCED IN FUTURE DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS, SO AS TO BAR DOOR ONCE AND FOR ALL TO RETURN OF REPRESENTATION QUESTION.

4. SECOND LESSON OF UNGA EFFORT WAS STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY OF ASIAN/PACIFIC POWERS WHO LED THE FIGHT FOR THE FRIENDLY RESOLUTION. HE HAD JUST DISCUSSED THIS IN MANILA AND BANGKOK, WHERE HE FOUND MOOD OF ELATION OVER ASEAN ACCOMPLISHMENT, AND A DESIRE TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM ON THE KHMER ISSUE. HE WOULD GO NEXT TO JAKARTA TO PURSUE THE SAME DIALOGUE. THE JAPANESE WOULD ENCOURAGE ASEAN DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN A VARIETY OF DIRECTION IN

5. THIRD LESSON FROM UNGA WAS IMPORTANCE OF BREAKING APART PREVIOUSLY SOLID PRO-SIHANOUK STANCE OF NONALIGNED COUNTRIES. THE COMBINED WEIGHT OF THE ASIAN/PACIFIC POWERS, PLUS A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF IMPORTANT NONALIGNED COUNTRIES WHICH THEY HOPED TO BRING AROUND, WOULD BE IMPORTANT IN PLACING PRESSURE ON CHINESE, KC AND NORTH VIETNAMESE TO CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS. THIS WOULD TAKE SOME TIME, BUT SHOULD BE STARTED ON NOW.

6. AS A MAJOR, ALMOST INDISPENSABLE, FIRST STEP, HANABUSA SAID JAPANESE WERE CONVINCED THERE MUST BE A PUBLIC DECLARATION BY LON NOL OF HIS WILLINGNESS TO STEP DOWN IN ADVANCE OF THE BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS, PROVIDED THE OTHER SIDE WOULD AGREE TO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. SUCH AN OFFER MUST COME FROM MARSHAL'S OWN LIPS, NOT THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES. THIS WOULD PERMIT THE A/P POWERS TO EXERT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON THE NONALIGNEDS. FAILURE OF THE OTHER SIDE TO RESPOND, AFTER SUCH AN OFFER, WOULD MAKE THEM APPEAR COMPLETELY UNREASONABLE TO WORLD OPINION.

7. IN GENERAL, THE JAPANESE VIEW WAS TO DISCOUNT THE IMPORTANCE OF SIHANOUK AS COMPARED WITH THE IN-COUNTRY KC LEADERSHIP. HE WAS ANATHEMA TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND HAD LITTLE SERIOUS SUPPORT ON EITHER SIDE

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WITHIN CAMBODIA.

8. COMMENT: DESPITE HIS POLITE DISCLAIMER, THE IMPRESSION WAS RECEIVED THAT HANABUSA WAS OUTLINING CURRENT JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTRY THINKING AND INTENTIONS. THE JAPANESE EMBASSY COUNSELOR HERE HAD TAKEN AN ALMOST IDENTICAL LINE WITH ANOTHER EMBOFF IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION THE SAME DAY. APPEARANCE OF THE BANGKOK

EDITORIAL, QUOTED IN PHNOM PENH 16459, WHICH ADVOCATES
ACTIVE ASEAN ROLE IN PURSUING KHMER SETTLEMENT MAY REFLECT
RTG INTEREST IN THE WAKE OF HANABUSA VISIT TO BANGKOK.
IN ANY CASE, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT HIS TALKS IN ASEAN
CAPITALS ARE CALCULATED TO STIMULATE INTEREST IN AN ACTIVE
GROUP ROLE ON BEHALF OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR THOSE ASIAN/PACIFIC
COUNTRIES WHICH WERE ACTIVE IN THE UNGA KHMER CREDENTIALS
STRUGGLE.
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